

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 238128

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TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 238128  
EXDIS  
FOLLOWING REPEAT NEW DELHI 14027 ACTION SECSTATE 1 DEC

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 14027

EXDIS

FOR DR. KISSINGER FROM MOYNIHAN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER'S MESSAGES FOR THE SECRETARY

1. I CALLED ON SWARAN SINGH SATURDAY MORNING TO SAY I WOULD  
BE SEEING YOU MONDAY AND TO ASK WERE THERE ANY  
MESSAGES HE WOULD LIKE ME TO CONVEY.  
THERE WERE. ALMOST AN HOUR'S WORTH. MOST CORDIAL.

2. I WAS FIRST TO TELL YOU OF THE VERY HIGH  
REGARD IN WHICH YOUR HELD IN DELHI. HE WAS INDEED  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 238128

OPEN AND ADMIRING ON THE SUBJECT OF YOUR  
ACHIEVEMENTS AND SKILLS. HE WISHED YOU TO KNOW OF INDIA'S  
REGARD FOR THE GOOD WORK YOU ARE DOING IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
AND ON DETENTE. IF THE PATHS CHOSEN BY THE UNITED STATES

IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE PERHAPS DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF INDIA, YOUR OBJECTIVES ARE NONETHELESS LAUDABLE. HE LISTED THE SUCCESSES OF THE NIXON AND KISSINGER PARTNERSHIP: DETENTE WITH THE USSR, DETENTE IN EUROPE: ALTERING U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA: HANDLING OF THE VIETNAM WAR. WHILE INDIA IS NOT FULLY IN TUNE WITH THE US ON THE MIDDLE EAST, IT FULLY APPRECIATES YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO BRINGING ABOUT A CEASE FIRE AS NECESSARILY PRELIMINARY TO ANY FURTHER PROGRESS THERE.

3. HE WOULD LIKE, FIRST OF ALL, YOUR ASSESSMENT OF "OIL". WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE POLICY OF THE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE ARABS. HE WOULD LIKE TO SHARE SOME OF THEIR IDEAS IN REGARD TO THE IMPACT OF OIL SHORTAGES AND SUCH ON THE US, EUROPE, AND OTHER AFFLUENT INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES THAT ARE TRYING TO TACKLE THIS PROBLEM.

4. INDIA REGARDS THE NEW US TASK FORCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A MATTER OF DEFINITE CONCERN. THE RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT THIS MORNING QUOTED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AS SAYING IT WAS DESIGNED TO ENSURE A "SAFE FLOW OF OIL." (I HAD TO SAY WE HADN'T THE TEXT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT THAT THE FEW LINES IN THE WIRELESS FILE DID NOT USE THIS PHRASE.) THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE GREATER INFORMATION ABOUT THIS OBJECTIVE. THEY HAVE NOT NOTICED THE TANKERS CARRYING OIL HAVE BEEN OBSTRUCTED, OR THAT ANY DISQUIETING EVENTS OF THIS SORT HAD OCCURRED. THEY WOULD LIKE IF POSSIBLE TO KNOW WHAT WE INTEND BY THIS MOVE. IS IT TO BE A WARNING TO THE ARAB STATES THAT IF THEY DO NOT DO SUCH AND SUCH THEY MAY FACE MILITARY ACTION? THEY WOULD REGARD ANY ACTION AS DISTRESSING WHICH MIGHT DISTURB THE PEACEFUL QUEST FOR A SOLUTION THROUGH THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

5. WITH REGARD TO THE INDIAN SUBCONTIENT, YOU WOULD WANT TO KNOW THAT THE PROCESS OF REPATRIATION IS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 238128

PROCEEDING IN A FAIRLY SMOOTH MANNER. PAKISTAN IS IN TOUCH WITH BANGLADESH, INDIA WITH PAKISTAN. HOWEVER, THEY ARE CONCERNED AT THE TENOR OF PRESIDENT BHUTTO'S SPEECHES DURING HIS TOUR OF PAKISTAN OCCUPIED KASHMIR. THESE WERE CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE SIMLA AGREEMENT. THUS PRESIDENT BHUTTO CALLED ON THE RESIDENTS OF KASHMIR TO STRIKE AND EVEN ENCOURAGED GUERILLA TACTICS. THEY HAVE INFORMATION THAT OLD PAKISTAN CELLS IN KASHMIR ARE BEING REACTIVATED. THIS IS DEFINITELY A DEVELOPMENT THAT IS NOT GOOD. EVERYTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO IMPRESS ON PRESIDENT BHUTTO AND HIS COLLEAGUES THAT THESE ACTIONS ARE NOT GOOD AND THAT THEY SHOULD DESIST. INDIA RECOGNIZES THAT THE KASHMIR QUESTION IS NOT FULLY SETTLED. HENCE THE SIMLA

AGREEMENT CALLS FOR MEETINGS ON THE SUBJECT. IN THE MEANTIME IT WAS AGREED THAT NO ONE WILL CAUSE DISTURBING ACTIONS ACROSS THE LINE. CERTAINLY THIS IS NOT WISE FOR PAKISTAN. THEY DONT HAVE TO REMIND PRESIDENT BHUTTO THAT HE HAS ENOUGH ON HIS PLATE AS IT IS IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE AND BALUCHISTAN. (NOTE HE DOES NOT USE THE TERM PUSHTOONISTAN.) INDIA HAS NOT EMBARRASSED PRESIDENT BHUTTO BY CALLING ATTENTION TO THESE DIFFICULTIES. IN PARTICULAR, HE SWARAN SINGH DID NOT DO SO ON HIS VISIT TO AFGHANISTAN. BUT SHEIK ABDULLAH WAS RIGHT IN SAYING AS HE DID YESTERDAY THAT PAKISTAN SHOULD STAY OUT OF INDIAN KASHMIR. HE SWARAN SINGH HAD WRITTEN TWO LETTERS TO AZIS AHMED POINTING OUT THAT THIS ATTITUDE IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH SIMLA. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD CONSOLIDATE THEIR GAINS AND NOT FRITTER THEM AWAY.

6. AGAIN WOULD I PLEASE CONVEY TO YOU THE FACT THAT YOU ARE MOST WELCOME TO VISIT INDIA. THEY ARE FULLY AWARE THAT YOU ARE NOW DEALING WITH MORE IMPORTANT MATTERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT IF THAT PROBLEM DRAGS YOU TO THE MIDDLE EAST OR EUROPE YOU MIGHT COME HERE FOR A COUPLE DAYS TO GIVE THEM YOUR FIRST HAND IMPRESSIONS. THIS WOULD ADVANCE THE OBJECTIVE OF IMPROVING INDO-US RELATIONS WHICH BOTH OF YOU HAVE DECLARED.

7. HE WISHED TO EXPRESS GREAT SATISFACTION AT THE APPARENT SUCCESS OF THE RUPEE NEGOTIATIONS AND LOOKS TO AN EARLY INITIALLING.  
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PAGE 04 STATE 238128

8. THEY WOULD DEFINITELY LIKE TO KNOW IF IN THE COURSE OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS IN PEKING ANY REFERENCES WERE MADE TO INDIA AND TO HAVE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF CHINESE VIEWS OF THE SUBCONTINENT.

9. ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT WE AGREED IT HAD GONE WELL AND HAD MOST POSITIVE RESULTS, ESPECIALLY IN RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF DETENTE. HE WOULD LIKE TO ASSURE MY GOVERNMENT THAT THERE IS NOTHING SECRET ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH RUSSIA. THE RELATIONSHIP IS OPEN AND ABOVE BOARD, WITH NOTHING SINISTER. I VOLUNTEERED THAT THE FACT THAT NO MILITARY COMMITMENTS WERE ENTERED INTO WOULD MEAN THERE WILL BE LESS PRESSURE ON THE UNITED STATES TO CHANGE ITS ARMS POLICY TOWARD SOUTH ASIA.

10. (SORRY, THIS IS THE WAY IT WENT.) INDIA'S POLICY IS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONS TO THE WEST OF US. PAKISTAN, IRAN, ETC. "SO I DO NOT SEE ANY CLASH OF INTEREST OR APPROACH BETWEEN THE U.S. AND INDIA."

11. (STANDING.) WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS FOR CAMBODIA?

I SAID I GATHERED INDIA WAS BEING HELPFUL AT THE UN.  
THIS HE REPLIED WAS A PERIPHERAL MATTER. HAD YOU  
BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SIHANOUK WHILE IN PEKING. HE IS NOT  
AN ALTOGETHER RIGID MAN. HE HAS HIS OWN PROBLEMS. IT COULD  
BE THAT IF HE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL, ELEMENTS WOULD COME  
TO POWER THAT NEITHER INDIA NOR THE US WOULD WELCOME.

12. (AT THE DOOR.) LETS DO SOME OIL EXPLORATION TOGETHER.  
NOT AS IN THE BAD OLD DAYS OF EXPLOITATION, BUT NEW WAYS.  
THE MORE OIL THE NON ARAB WORLD FINDS THE LESS THE ARABS  
CAN INFLUENCE OTHER POLICIES.

13. (IN THE ANTEROOM) HE HAD TALKED OF NEGATIVE  
THINGS. WISHED HE HAD GOTTEN ONTO POSITIVE THINGS AS HE  
STRONGLY DESIRES TO STRENGTHEN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

14. I WILL CALL YOUR OFFICE MONDAY TO SEE IF YOU  
WISH ME TO MEET YOU AT THE AIRPORT, OR JUST WHEN.  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 238128

WARM REGARDS.  
MOYNIHAN UNQUOTE KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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